/10 cont./

*532 on the other hand, breasts are attached and the hair roll extends down very far on both sides.

6. Three other clay figures are very peculiar.

Fig. 54 /see p. 50 / is evidently a male figure with legs of type 1. The head is pointed and surrounded by a small wax cap. There is a small mouth-hole in the face. Arms are lacking. The torso shows a hollow extending from top to bottom, the edges of which jut out somewhat over the rest of the body.

Fig. 55 /see p. 50 /: Inŏ, i.e., human being. It is made of gray clay, has legs of type 1, arms, penis, and cylinder-shaped body, to which is attached a large head with a huge nose, wide-open mouth, and slit eyes.

Fig. 56 /see p. 50 /. This female figure is made of white earth; legs are missing, the body is spherically fashioned and is covered by a long black string-skirt.

Ehrenreich in his "Beiträge" shows in Figure 1 on Plate XI an illustration of a primitive clay figure which is not represented in my collection. It is pointed at the top and bottom and has a navel hole and a mouth hole. I should like to remark that I [126] tried to collect all the types present so that my collection would exhaust the types encountered by me among the Karajá and Šavajé, but I did not see this form. The mouth hole alone, on the other hand, is sometimes found (Figs. 34, 42 /see p. 49 /; Dōbäi, Figs. 50, 52 /see p. 50 /; Fig. 54). In the same way [124] the accomplished forms (Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," Plate XI, Figs. 7, 8, 10) with their arms drawn up against their breasts, which come from the Šambioá /Shambioa/, were not to be found *532 among the Karajá and Šavajé. Should this lack be no accident, 184 then we would be confronted by a striking phenomenon. The ● 178 lack of the most primitive stage seems to prove that the Indians in the last 20 years have grown beyond this stage, whereas the lack of individual accomplished types shows that the Karajá and Šavajé have even today not yet caught up with the Šambioá. [126] I brought no dolls back with me from the Šavajé; they only had a few and they were completely identical with those of the Karajá.

/46 cont./

551 wish to infer at the outset a marriage, formerly prescribed,
601 with the matrilateral female cross-cousin. One must remember,
[183] however, that the present state characterized by a great degree of freedom, in other words, by a degree of "information" or of greater entropy, is also found in the performance of ceremonies, such as in the narration of myths and legends, these expressions of the spiritual life of the Carajá which allow great freedom of variation around a principal theme stubbornly preserved. — Finally teknonymy guides the reciprocal terms of grandparents and grandchildren, so that the grandparents, designated according to their sex, reply by the same word, even if the grandchild is of the opposite sex.

561 Before finishing my article, I must quickly touch on the
554 last two columns of Murdock's attempt. The Carajá distinguish,
615 by speech and by ornaments, age grades. At the same time, an idea of stratification is outlined in the fact that political and religious roles are the heritage of only one of the three patrilineal
[567] groups with an endogamous tendency. It is tempting to think of the classes or castes of the Guaycurú /Guaicuru/, for example, and since there are reports which speak of temporary slaves, Murdock's information in this direction must be corrected (A1, with a tendency towards Ci, instead of O; column 14). The
628 villages are politically autonomous, but the Carajá themselves
621 unite some villages in amphictyonies for the performance of
627 certain ceremonies. The hereditary succession of the chiefs
621 goes in the patrilineal line, a grandson being chosen as the candidate, or, if one is lacking, a granddaughter. Consequent-
[178] ly, there is a temporary matrilineal succession in the heart of the patrilineal group, for which there is reserved the role of the chief, who, incidentally, is on the way to complete disappearance (thus: Pp and m, for the Carajá themselves, Ap and m for the Javahé and Chambioá /Shambioa/; column 15).

121 You would not wish me to end on this melancholy note.
[178] I repeat: a people small in number and too little known, despite appearances, is in the process of losing at least its traditional aspect, which would have been fascinating for comparative sociology as well as for the history of the South American Indians.

/17 cont./

417 Today the primitive tools are limited to those which Nature
239 provides for specific purposes, such as scraping knives of mussel shells, chisel-shaped implements made of rodent teeth, flat stones for pounding bast cloth, the coarse bony tongue of the pirarucú as a rasp, etc.

• 178 Despite widespread use of foreign tools, the industry of this people has completely retained its national character. Fortunately, among the Karaya, there is still no question of any decline in it such as almost always sets in as a consequence of the introduction of European products, as is well known. Fitness, beauty of form, and care in execution are still characteristic of their work.

501 Canoe construction is on a rather high level, although the method of production is relatively simple. The boats (auñõ) are long narrow dugouts with the front and back parts extending equally far and somewhat sloping at the tips. Given the many shallows of the river this form is the most efficient, since it facilitates the landing and launching of the vessel (Pl. IV /see p. 106 /, 2).

396 The material is the straightest possible trunk of the ipiuba
1824 (Tecoma sp.) or jatoba (Hymenaea sp.). Since the forward part is from the lower, the back part from the upper section of the trunk, the canoes are usually somewhat broader in the front than in the back. The hollowing is done with an ax and aided by fire. Since the cavity of the boat is not artificially widened by special manipulations such as Im Thurn describes (op. cit., p. 293), but rather the original diameter of the trunk also determines that of the boat, the canoes are usually disproportionately narrow in proportion to their length and tip over easily. They
501 are smoothed over inside and outside with great care. Arrangements for sitting are not present. There are set in on the other hand, rows of short crossbars, which, fixed a few inches above the bottom, protect any cargo from getting wet.

The oars (nahere, Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 1-3) are of excellent workmanship. They are 1 1/3 to 1 1/2 meters long, half of which is taken up by the handle provided with a cross-grip. The blade is straight, leaf-shaped, 15-20 centimeters wide, and runs out at the bottom into a lancet-shaped, offset tip. Elegant

/28 cont./

also hold for the relationships prevailing among the Karaya. The village communities composed of such family units, each of which has a particular name, seem to be like gau communities (2). The agricultural land belongs to the whole

2. Post, Stud. z. Entw. d. Familienrechts /Essay on the Development of Family Law/, p. 83.

and is tilled in common. Hunting and fishing expeditions are also undertaken in common, and the yield in booty, field produce, etc. divided among the families. The chief supervises all of these communal activities and achievements. He is supported by the community; the property of all tribal members belongs to him (3). On the other hand, it is his duty to adopt

3. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 121.

orphaned children, particularly the sons of those slain in war. The personal qualities to which he owes his office today are less prowess in war /29/ than the skill, experience, and linguistic knowledge required to deal with the Whites. Thus, even prisoners of war adopted into the tribe who distinguish themselves at this can achieve the position.

The chief organizes the war and hunting expeditions; he determines the camp sites and the locations of plantings and, after the burning over of the strip of forest (roça) concerned, divides the agricultural land, which is marked off by posts, among the individual families.

His effectiveness in the administration of justice is important. In case of quarrels between men he acts as referee, while his wife decides those of the women. It is his duty to bring offenders to account, but he does not inflict the punishment, which, according to the Indian law of retaliation, is a matter for the injured party. Murder or bodily injury are therefore avenged by the relatives of the victim without further ado.

/37 cont./

535 That such barbaric customs prevailed, at least formerly,
532 is all the less to be doubted, since analogies can be shown in
562 other regions of the world. Today, however, the matter does
688 not seem to be handled as strictly. It is said that among the
●178 neighboring Tapirapé all the women once saw the masks by chance, so there was nothing else to do but to pardon them all and give up the secret.

According to a statement of Pedro Manco, the custom has fallen into disuse among the Sambioa, too. Nevertheless, they did not permit us simply to take the masks found in the forest along with us, because women /38/ were presumed to be in the area. Rather our men had to put on special clothing for the purpose of bringing them to our camp.

Whether these customs have now become milder or not, in any case the respect the women have for the masks and their mysterious storage place is quite great.

535 After the end of the festival the masks are thrown away or
532 burned. In any case the feathers used for them are saved.

It is unlikely that we shall ever fully understand the real meaning of these dances. It is even doubtful whether the Indians themselves are fully aware of it. On the basis of analogies among better known peoples, a few conjectures about it can at least be made.

535 It is certain that the mask represents the spirit of the ani-
532 mal portrayed. The animals themselves are either game animals
796 or those that play a certain role in the national legend, such as
825 the stork, the alligator, and the Gymnotus. In North America
[191] there are bear dances, buffalo dances, etc., in order to persuade the bear and buffalo spirit to make these animals appear in larger numbers, whereas other dances refer to animals which are regarded as original ancestors or have other mythological significance. Similar notions may also be the basis for the masked dances of the Karaya. This would already be a step beyond the lowest form of animism, since the acceptance of a spirit representing all animals of a certain class presumes a certain amount

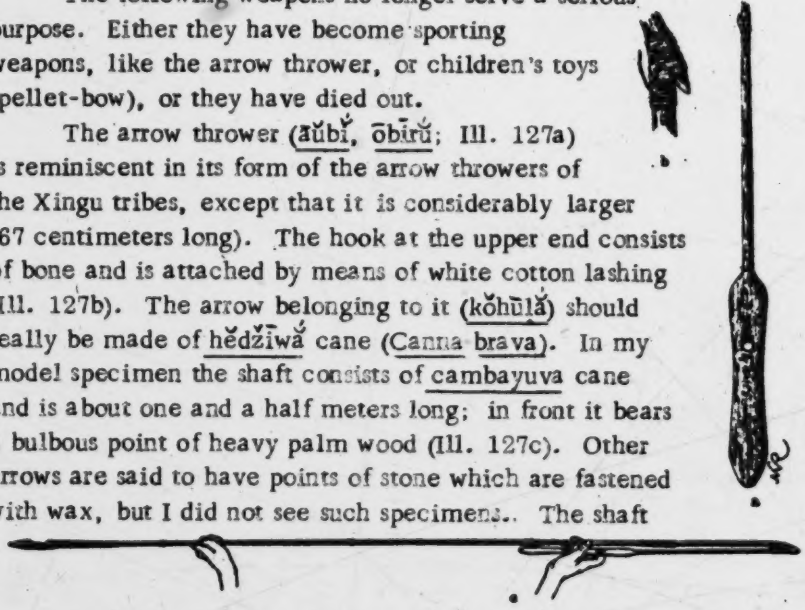
/273 cont./

411 [531] [285] Ehrenreich also says that this plaiting is decorated above and below with small feather wreaths; this is not the case among my specimens.

According to statements by the Indians, in olden times their spears did not have bone points, but rather ran out in front into the pointed shafts; otherwise they were equipped like the spears of today.

[178] The following weapons no longer serve a serious purpose. Either they have become sporting weapons, like the arrow thrower, or children's toys (pellet-bow), or they have died out.

The arrow thrower (ăŭbĭ, ōbĭrŭ; Ill. 127a) is reminiscent in its form of the arrow throwers of the Xingu tribes, except that it is considerably larger (67 centimeters long). The hook at the upper end consists of bone and is attached by means of white cotton lashing (Ill. 127b). The arrow belonging to it (kŏhūlă) should [824] really be made of hĕdžĭwă cane (Canna brava). In my model specimen the shaft consists of cambayuva cane and is about one and a half meters long; in front it bears a bulbous point of heavy palm wood (Ill. 127c). Other arrows are said to have points of stone which are fastened with wax, but I did not see such specimens. The shaft



Ill. 127 a-c.

a) Arrow thrower, b) detail of the hook, c) handling the arrow-thrower.

is unfeathered; it has no notch. Ehrenreich's arrows of ubá cane, on the other hand, have at the end a cut-out section that contains the notch hole. The specimen of throwing stick and arrow reproduced here was made by the Indians at my request.

The manner of handling it is shown in Ill. 127c. The thrower is held in the right hand; the arrow, with the rear, hollow end hooked into the peg, is laid on the board and grasped here with the right hand as follows: the thumb lies on the right edge of the /274/ throwing board, the second finger is stuck into the hole of the handle, the third finger reaches from the left edge over the arrow, the fourth extends from the left edge under the arrow, in other

/280 cont./

462 561 A. The division of labor by age and sex is such that the male youths actually do nothing other than to practice the weapons craft and occasionally travel out to fish. In addition, they make their own weapons, as well as their feather ornaments and the cotton dance-belts. The married men, on the other hand, are usually busy; either they work in the plantings, or they go out twice a day to fish for their families, go hunting, plait baskets [589] and hats, build houses, and bring in the harvest. In general, the men, when they are married, have a great deal of work and that is why young people no longer want to get married, having been infected by a few older bachelors who preach the ideal of bachelorhood: idling, smoking, chatting in the mask house.

The women learn their manual skills, such as spinning and weaving, from childhood on. Married women take care of the plantings, the harvest, tend the children, cook, make pottery, spin and weave, and plait mats. In general, to be sure, they have to work the whole day, so that one never sees them unoccupied, but in general their lot is a good one; hard work is never demanded of them, but is always taken over by the men.

412 ●178 B. Of their ancient tools some have already disappeared (1)

> 1. Iron tools seem to have penetrated in the previous generation. A 40-year old Indian of the south horde told me that he had not seen work done with stone axes any more, only his mother told him about it.

or are used in another way, they still, however, use stone axes /281/ as striking stones, small stone knives for tattooing, bone needles for sewing, mussel shells as scrapers and spoons, sets of piranha teeth for cutting the strips for plaiting baskets. More and [177] more, however, iron implements are coming in: axes, bush knives, small knives, and shears are used everywhere, likewise [176] iron crochet needles. In spite of these foreign implements, however, the technique has happily kept its ancient character, and only occasionally are innovations, under the influence of the Brazilian inhabitants, To be noted.

/281 cont./

Brazilian inhabitants, to be noted. This shows us how tenaciously the Karajá cling to their nationality, in spite of long association with their civilized neighbors.

C. The exploitation of the natural kingdom varies in intensity; the mineral kingdom is exploited least, the vegetable kingdom, which can, of course offer the Indian the most abundant resources, the most.

The mineral kingdom is as yet little utilized. Stones are rare in the alluvial valley of the Araguaya; at most there is small rubble on a few sandbanks; otherwise fine sand covers the river valley. On the steep vertical banks there is canga, a ferrous sandstone which cannot be utilized except perhaps in larger pieces which, with plaiting around them, serve as anchors for turtle tackle. Stones are found only north of the Tapirapé, and all of the few stone implements that were present came from there.

More frequently used is the gray clay which is embedded in narrow layers in the sandstone of the high banks. It is used for pottery. This art, however, in its technique and form, is still very primitive; ornamentation is entirely lacking. The vessels are shaped according to their practical use; they are made by the women. Apparently the women are more practical and less artistically endowed than the men, for we find everywhere that the things made by the women are simple and practical, those by the men, by contrast, show pleasing forms and ornamentation.

Earths are also but little utilized as colors.

The animal kingdom is utilized somewhat more intensively for technical purposes by the Indians. Bones and teeth of mammals are worked into tools and ornaments; mussel shells serve as implements. The bird kingdom is most abundantly drawn upon: their brilliant feathers are used for magnificent ornaments such as scarcely any other Indian tribe displays in this abundance. In order to have the material for this always at hand, the Indians keep young birds, taken from the nest, tamed in their huts in order to pluck them from time to time. The wax of bees plays an important role as gluing material.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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226 which attains a length of ten feet, occurs very frequently;
[136] also the electric eel, and the thick-bodied pirarára which is encased in an armor of strong, bony plates; the voracious piránha, the jahú, a scaleless fish nearly as large as a man; the pintado, or spotted fish, which reaches a length of six or seven feet; various pacús, besides many other kinds of fish. All of these are suitable for human consumption.
[262] There are certain scaleless fish which are not used by the Karayá. Neither will they eat the dolphin; but they are quite fond of the turtle and its eggs.

During the time of high water when fish are not easily caught in the yellow, earth-charged flood, the Karayá secure their fish from the lagoons along the river, which they make into great, natural traps for the larger fish by cutting off their retreat. This is accomplished by blocking the outlet of the lagoon with a basket-work of poles and heavy climbing
[198] vines. In former times, fish were taken exclusively by means
[437] of the bow and arrow, but the Karayá now use the hook and line, which is obtained in trade from passing canoes. It is for the most part impossible to fish in the Araguaya with a net because the piránha cut it to pieces, and also because of the many large creatures that infest the river.

224 Hunting is not so important an occupation with the Karayá as fishing, hence they are more expert anglers than hunters; nor do they display much skill in the chase. This may appear strange to persons who believe that all Indians
[262] are hunters, par excellence. South America is not so rich in large game as Africa; moreover, some superstition, the taboo, doubtless, prevents the savages from eating the flesh of some species of game which are most numerous. For this reason, the Karayá do not hunt the tapir, which abounds along the Araguaya, though the meat is excellent, being much like beef, yet richer. Deer also, of which there are many varieties, exist in great numbers; yet few, if any, of the savage tribes touch these animals. The Karayá never hunt large game, confining themselves to monkeys, which are abun-

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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dant, and to the pecarí, the aguti, the musk duck which is found in ponds, and similar small game. 224

Agriculture among the Sambiða is highly developed—remarkably so, in fact, for a people living in a state of savagery—and is even more advanced in some respects than that of the "civilized" Brazilians living near their territory. A large assortment of vegetable foodstuffs are raised. They now have the same agricultural implements as the "civilized" Brazilians, having relegated to oblivion their rude tools of ancient times, with which they could not till the soil but to a very limited extent, and that only with excessive toil. The high agricultural development reached by these savages is very interesting and important, proving conclusively that the primitive man, far from being incapable of anything but to wander over a wide territory, living from hand to mouth by hunting and fishing, is capable of becoming an agriculturist of no mean order. The plant most extensively cultivated by the Sambiða is the manioc. They raise both kinds, the "wild" and the "tame." Next to this in importance is corn. But this is used more to make a fermented drink than for food. Sugar-cane is also cultivated on the low, alluvial soil along the river, which is well adapted to this purpose. But the natives have no suitable contrivance for extracting the juice from the cane. Several varieties of small, brown beans, brought from Pará, and which are a staple food among civilized Brazilians, are also raised. So also, the white and violet Brazilian *cará*, a kind of potato. Besides these foodstuffs, which were obtained originally from civilized Brazilians, the Karayá gather from forest and jungle, many kinds of wild fruits and vegetables, which introduce a pleasing change in their aliment. A few such are the cajú, a yellow, olive-shaped plum, which grows on a very large tree; the jábádacába, a plum which grows clinging to the trunks of a tree resembling the elm; the morisy, a large yellow cherry, groves of which may be seen growing on the uplands; mongába, the fruit of a kind of upland rubber tree, which I have elsewhere called a natural baked apple; and

241 [178] [273] [262] [77] 272 268

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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501 suited to their purpose owing to the many shallow places in the river, and because it facilitates landing and pushing off. 396 The tree selected to be transformed into a canoe is an ipiúba [824] or a jatóba, which must be very straight. Strange to say, the butt of the tree becomes the bow of the canoe; therefore, the finished canoe is broader at the bow than at the stern. As these children of Nature are preeminently imitators of Nature, it seems quite probable that in constructing their canoes, they have in mind the form of the fish, which always goes big end first.

The log is first hewn into the form of a canoe, then hollowed out with axes and with fire. It is not broadened amidships, therefore, when finished, it is no wider than was the 501 original tree. As it is thus very narrow and tapers gradually and uniformly high above the water at both bow and stern, it tips over very easily. Great care is taken to make it perfectly smooth outside and in. No seats are provided, but sticks are placed across the bottom to keep both the occupants and the freight out of any water that may leak in. As every family has a canoe, quite a fleet of them may be seen in front of every village. These canoes are propelled by paddles five feet in length, half of which is blade, the point [531] terminating like a lance. They are made with great care and labor, and are often nicely ornamented. When canoeing, the 503 pilot is always seen perched in a squatting position on the extreme point of the stern with his knees drawn up to his chin.

411 The weapons of the Karayá are as of old—there has [718] been no change whatever. In common with other Brazilian tribes, the length and stiffness of their bow is according to the height and strength of its owner. Some bows are seven feet in length, while a boy's bow is two and a half or three [824] feet long. They are made of the wood of a certain palm-tree [771] which the Brazilians call *pau de arco*—bow wood—which is the wood used by all the tribes of central and North Brazil for their bows. The bow is made flat inside, and the extremities taper to a point. Several lengths of string, carried

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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be ordered to appear at a designated spot in the woods when the sun reaches a certain position in the heavens, and here she will be compelled to submit herself to the assembled men. If she should fail to appear as ordered, the men may slay her wherever they find her and sink her body in the river. But if she should flee to the mystery hut, no one will enter to take her for this is an asylum of refuge. If a man should betray the secret of the masquerade to a woman of the tribe, he may, nevertheless, be allowed to go unmolested. But these barbarous customs do not appear to be so strictly observed to-day as in former times. It is related that owing to an accident, all the women of a certain village, caught sight at the same moment of the masquerade outfit when not in use. In this case, of course, nothing could be done but to pardon them all and make known to them the whole secret. It is said that among the Sambiōa, these masquerades are falling somewhat into disuse. Nevertheless, they would not allow Dr. Ehrenreich and his party to bring away the masquerade outfits that they had stumbled upon at a spot in the woods where they had been thrown at the termination of a festival, as they feared that some of their women might be in the vicinity and see them. To get permission to take them, the men of the party had to dress in them. Though these customs may be less strictly observed to-day than formerly, nevertheless, the women cherish a profound respect for these supposed creatures of the forest and their mysterious hiding-places.

535 562 688 [708] 535 [178] [126]

The masquerade outfits seem to be thrown away, or burned, at the conclusion of a festival, the feather decorations having first been removed.

Of the real significance of these masquerades, little or nothing is known, or perhaps ever will be known. It is doubtful if even the savages themselves are fully conscious of their significance. But we may get some light upon the subject from our knowledge of the customs and beliefs of other primitive peoples.

It is certain that the "make up"—the creature, animated [825]